

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-06 NEA-09 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

ACDA-05 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 /093 W

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FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9484

USDEL ASWAN IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 801

ASWAN FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR UNSC CY

SUBJ: OBSERVATIONS ON SC CONSIDERATION OF CYPRUS

1. NOW THAT MONTH-LONG CYPRUS DEBATE HAS ENDED, SATISFACTORILY FROM US STANDPOINT, CERTAIN PARTS OF THE EXERCISE SEEM TO US WORTH NOTING.

2. DEBATE WAS LENGTHIEST AND PERHAPS MOST FRUSTRATING IN RECENT SC HISTORY. MANY COUNCIL DEBATES INVOLVE PERIODS OF INTENSE NEGOTIATION, BUT WE CAN RECALL NONE IN WHICH PROTRACTED DRAFTING ON MINUTIAE WAS SUSTAINED OVER SO LONG A PERIOD. BY THE END, BOTH SIDES HAD ALL BUT LOST SIGHT OF THEIR OBJECTIVES. STRUGGLE OVER SYG'S ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS BECAME AN END IN ITSELF. GREEK
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SIDE FOUGHT FOR STRONG MANDATE AS IF SYG COULD DICTATE TERMS OF

A SETTLEMENT BECAUSE HE CHAIRED TALKS, WHILE TURKS IGNORED WALDHEIM'S REPEATED ASSURANCES THAT HE WOULD PLAY NO GREATER ROLE THAN THAT ON WHICH PARTIES AGREED.

3. ONE OBJECTIVE THAT SEEMED OF LITTLE CONCERN TO EITHER SIDE WAS PRESERVING A NEGOTIATING FORUM. CYPRIOT DISENCHANTMENT WITH COMMUNAL TALKS WAS OF COURSE THE REASON THEY ASKED COUNCIL TO MEET. BUT GREEKS AND TURKS WERE EQUALLY WILLING TO BARTER THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE NUANCE OF A PHRASE. AS SEEN FROM HERE, ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING ASPECTS OF THE CONSULTATIONS WAS BOTH SIDES' ALMOST COMPLETE IMPREVIOUSNESS TO SUGGESTION, REASONING AND EXHORTATION, EVEN ON MOST TRIVIAL ISSUES.

4. THE ADOPTION OF AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION THAT SHOULD ENCOURAGE NEW NEGOTIATIONS IS IN LARGE PART DUE TO MAKE-UP AND OPERATING PROCEDURES OF THE NEGOTIATING GROUP. NORMAL DRAFTING PROCESS IN THIS EXERCISE WAS FOR UK TO WORK OUT A TEXT WITH US, SECURE FRENCH AND ITALIAN AGREEMENT, CONSULT WITH SWEDEN AND JAPAN, AND THEN HOLD MORE FORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE FIVE NON-ALIGNED COUNCIL MEMBERS. THIS PROCEDURE WORKED PARTICULARLY SMOOTHLY BECAUSE NON-ALIGNED REPRESENTATIVES WERE IN GENERAL IDEOLOGICALLY COMMITTED TO NEITHER SIDE AND DETERMINED TO AVOID A RESOLUTION WHICH CAUSED BREAKDOWN OF THE TALKS. AT SEVERAL CRITICAL JUNCTURES, ABLE SWEDISH PERMREP PLAYED ESPECIALLY HELPFUL ROLE.

5. DEBATE WAS NOTABLE FOR BEING FIRST TIME IN SC THAT USSR AMB MALIK LAUNCHED FRONTAL ATTACK ON NON-ALIGNED. IT IS HARD TO SAY HOW MUCH OF HIS SCATHING CRITICISM CONCERNING NON-ALIGNED CAPITULATION TO NATO WAS CALCULATED, HOW MUCH SPONTANEOUS ANGER AT FINDING HIMSELF ISOLATED AND OUT-MANEUVERED. WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT HE CAME OUT THE LOSER. ALL FIVE NON-ALIGNED COUNTER-ATTACKED (EVEN IRAQ IN FORMAL SESSION, AND ON WHOLE FAR MORE TELLINGLY THAN MALIK.

6. IN MARCH 12 DEBATE NONE OF PARTIES TOOK SERIOUS EXCEPTION TO RESOLUTION, ALTHOUGH CLERIDES CONSIDERED IT WEAKER AND LESS EFFECTIVE THAN HE WOULD HAVE WISHED. SUMMARY OF DEBATE BEING TRANSMITTED BY UNCLASSIFIED CABLE.
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